

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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No. 1.

MORE LIGHT ON THE DEMANDS FOR FARMERS

TWO INTERESTING CONTRIBUTIONS

The Referendum Without Education is the "Voice of Ignorance"—One Writer Declares the "Demands" Directly Opposed to Our Principles.

In the year 1896 I visited Edward Bellamy at his home in Chicago Falls. He was then writing "Equality," and his "den" was completely littered with the manuscript of that famous book. I asked him why it was that he never joined the S. L. P. and he replied: "The S. L. P. have made a very great mistake in the way in which they have conducted their party. So much so that I do not believe they will ever gain the confidence of the American wealth producers." He alluded to many things of the S. L. P.; of its criticism of himself and of the radical middle-of-the-road populists, and he added: "The farmers will never join that party, and yet the farmers are our most radical people. They are much nearer to socialism and will grasp its grand truths much sooner than the working class in our great cities." Said he: "The socialist party that ignores the farmers will never succeed." Speaking of Kansas, he told me that 47,000 copies of "Looking Backward" were sold in that state. He had an extensive correspondence with the populist editors in both Kansas and Texas, and he added that the radical movement only needed to be crystallized in such states to be made a giant power in a socialist party.

I have said all that I wanted to say about our "Farmers' Demands." If the S. D. P. ignores the farmers, some other socialist party will crystallize the farmers' movement. We can make our platform so scientific that we will never get into power, or we can make it as scientific as the S. D. P. of Germany and have "socialism in our time."

F. G. R. GORDON.

Considered As a "Vote Catcher."

I have noted with much interest the discussion going on in the "Herald" in relation to the farmers' platform. I don't suppose my views on the subject will be very interesting, when compared with the able articles already presented, but I am going to present them anyway. To me the "farmers' platform" is prophetic of disaster in the days to come. I may be wrong. But it matters not how I turn the question, to me it still spells disaster. And of all forms of disaster, the form which it foreshadows—disaster in the hour of victory—is the very worst. Better a hundred defeats in fair-fought fields than a victory gained by the votes of those who will tie our hands in the moment of our triumph. A socialist elected by a capitalist constituency would be a worse disaster than any defeat could possibly be. I do not believe that any class should be recognized in a socialist platform. I do not believe that any mention should be made of either farmers, bakers, candlestick-makers or any other subdivision of either capitalists or wage-workers.

The fight is on in the world-wide struggle between capitalism and socialism, and principles, not palliatives, should be the watchword of the party. Populism is not socialism; on the contrary, it is a phase of capitalism, and we should bear this in mind when strange doctrines present themselves, and if they do not have the watchword of class-conscious socialism, they are enemies, not friends, and should be kept out of our camp. The farming element as a class is essentially capitalist and nothing but disaster can come from any alliance with it. "But," it is said, "we can catch votes with this farmers' platform." I deny it in toto. But suppose, for the sake of argument, that we can "catch votes" by bolstering up some small capitalists at the expense of the big ones who are seeking their destruction, would not such a proceeding be diametrically opposed to our own interests as well as our principles? Not only would we be sacrificing our principles by taking up the cause of this rapidly diminishing class of small capitalists, but we would be sacrificing our interests by prolonging the life of that so-called middle class, or class of small capitalists, which is our chief opponent today. But, O the shame of it, anyway! Shall our party become a party of vote-catchers? No, no, my comrades; let the old parties "catch votes," but let us stick to our principles. Suppose we could catch a few votes by such a vote-catching arrangement, what kind of votes would they be? Would they be votes for socialism? No! They would simply be the votes of a dissatisfied capitalist class voting for the betterment of their own conditions along capitalistic lines. If the party was placed

in power by such votes, its hands would be tied by the necessity of retaining its power, and instead of a class-conscious Socialist party we would have a party of compromisers and trimmers, burdening the cause with the disgrace of the party that claimed to represent it. It would be better that the party should perish utterly than that it should lose that radical class-conscious integrity which is its chief reliance. Suppose that by retaining this "farmers' platform" we can "catch votes" from the farmers, and by putting in a "candlestick-makers' platform" we can "catch votes" from the candlestick-makers, and so on through the list, until we "catch" enough votes to win; what kind of a victory will it be? Will it be a Socialist victory? What do you think the result of such a victory would be? The answer to the last question can be summed up in one word, Disaster—disaster for the cause, blacker, more dismal and more ignominious than any defeat can ever be. We have too many "vote catching" parties already! Let our party stick to principles and trust to the justness of its cause for votes. We want no Socialist elected by capitalist votes. We cannot hope to spring into power at a bound. So let us stick to the straight and narrow path of class-conscious socialism; there are no doubtings there, no dissensions, no pitfalls. Let there be no fusion, no compromise; rather let us stand squarely on our feet for the great principle on which our party is founded, and, though we may not "catch" so many votes, rest assured, my comrades, that the victory, when it does come, will be all the grander, greater and more glorious for our action now.

C. W. HEWITT.

Evansville, Ind.

Light First, Then Referendum.

I notice some of our southern comrades are asking for an immediate referendum on the farmers' platform matter and that in doing so they naively state that they do not know whether they are for it or against it, and so want the thing decided by vote.

Their attitude in this matter so nicely involves the weak point in direct legislation that I hope they will take no offense if I make use of it to point a moral and adorn a tale.

Now, the very reason they give for wanting a referendum is really the very reason why a referendum should not be taken. A referendum would shut off debate and oblige the members generally to vote on a matter of which probably a majority felt really ignorant. It would not therefore be possible for such to cast an intelligent ballot, and being in the majority, we should have a result that simply reflected the ignorance of those voting. Let us suppose that the majority voted against the farmers' program, because, while they were not really clear on the subject at issue, they had a sort of vague feeling that it was reactionary, because never adopted in Germany, and, moreover, a thing that the "skyentific" fellows outside of our party poked fun at, and that it was therefore of doubtful value to our platform. The result would be most unfortunate. To have part of our already adopted platform expunged by voters who were not clear in their opposition would certainly be doing violence to the genius of the Social Democratic movement in this country.

Here we see one of the weak spots in the referendum, as the average American (Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy included) would have it used. We do not seem to have gotten over the idea that the collective ignorance is "the voice of God," nor to have gotten it into our noddles that before a referendum can have any honest value, the voters must be educated and informed with regard to the matter to be decided. The presidential referendums that Uncle Sam takes every four years ought to show this. Take the last one. Who will dare to deny that the vast majority of the voters cast an ignorant ballot on the money question? It cannot be disputed. Unless education and investigation precedes it, the referendum is the "voice of ignorance," and I dedicate this observation to Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy and the other leading worshippers at the shrine of direct legislation.

And so I, for one, beg our comrades most sincerely not to shut off debate on the farmers' program. Let us get all the light on it we can possibly get. When we have all the light possible, then a referendum will be in order, not before. Only when we can vote intelligently can we call the referendum a socialist measure.

FREDERIC HEATH.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscriber a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.

Tommy.—"Paw, what do they put water in stocks for?"

Mr. Figg.—To soak the investors with, my son.—Indianapolis Journal.

SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT ON THE MONEY QUESTION

BARREN ORATORY OF SILVERITES

The Demonetization of Silver a Result of the Economic System—Bimetallism is an Impossibility and "Free Silver" a Capitalist Fake Issue.

What the sun is to the physical life on earth, knowledge—science—is to the political and social life. There is only one sun in this world of ours; there is only one truth, and that is the truth of science. In all questions of social and political life there is only one sure guide—science. Unhappily, there are too many people who, like the blind prince, hate the light of knowledge, because they are spiritually blind and ignorant themselves. They hide themselves in the darkness of superstition and prejudice and try to keep other people in darkness also. Unhappily, there was, and will always be a class of people who make a profession of the art of misleading others. And, indeed, there is no more profitable business than that of the "blind leaders of the blind." By flattering the people and pretending to be only their modest spokesmen, the demagogues succeed in getting their confidence, and then sell out their interest to the highest bidder. But this is not the only result of the activity of the professional demagogues. They undermine, little by little, the confidence of the people in any man who undertakes to tell the actual scientific truth, and who tries to educate and to enlighten. Demagogues are the false prophets who go in to politics for profit. By appealing to the prejudices and class feelings of the people the demagogues succeed for a while in securing the leadership of the blind. It is the sacred duty of every educated man to fight against the professional demagogues with the weapons of truth, founded on the laws and principles of science.

Beware of demagogues! But still more dangerous for public welfare than demagogues are sometimes the so-called impatient reformers. You can tear the mask from the face of the demagogue and show his hideous features to the people. But what can you do with sincere, well meaning, honest and public-spirited fanatics for this or that panacea? You cannot convince them, because their mind is petrified by some hobby and not likely to be influenced by arguments. Who is not with them is against them—and that settles all discussion. They are deeply convinced that their panacea is the only road to salvation; that to possess principles means to be narrow-minded and intolerant to the opinions of others. They want to save humanity, and even if it has to be against its will, save it according to their own panacea, and do it at once. They have no time to spend on the scientific study of the subject of their own hobby, and still less time to spend for the education of the public. They have no time to wait. They do not understand the deep wisdom of Milton's sentence, "He serves, too, who waits." Am I pleading for stupid conservatism and self-sufficient laissez-faire—the let alone principle? Certainly not. If I would be a conservative sycophant, I would not be tonight with you, but in my own native country, among my own people and on the best terms with the Czar's government. I was and am and will always be on the side of progress and radical reform. But progress and reform have to be based on broad, deep and thoroughly rational principles. I do not believe in patent medicines, sure cures and panaceas. Progress and reform are results of growth, development and public education, public enlightenment, public consciousness and moral elevation. Impatience and reform are mostly contradictions in terms, especially in the field of social economics. In order to revolutionize our social and economical conditions and then our public morals, we have to abandon the principles of homo homini lupus, substitute emulation for competition, implant the feeling of solidarity and brotherhood instead of the animal zoological struggle for existence, sociability in place of wild individualism. It is a task broader and deeper than the ocean.

But let us not drift too far from the subject of our lecture. The floods of ink and barren oratory spilled and displayed by the champions of both contesting parties during the last presidential campaign—the so-called "educational" campaign—accomplished one thing: It made the money issue appear as obscure, complicated and transcendental as possible. After swallowing the innumerable polyglot pamphlets, speeches, editorials and general campaign rubbish, the public had not even the right to exclaim with Dr. Faust, "Now here I stand, poor fool,

and am not wiser than before." In fact, there is nothing more complicated, nothing more obscure than the opposite of truth. When the delirium of the campaign orgy is over it is possible to say the genuine truth about the money issue without being met by frantic applause from one and not less fanatic hisses from the other party. It is the more worth while, as the monetary question will be surely dragged up again as an issue. Anything which a man can use has some value for him as a commodity. But a commodity acquires a value, a value of exchange, only when there is a possibility of exchanging it for another commodity. For Robinson Crusoe on his uninhabited island the things we call commodities were only use-values, or articles of use. Exchange values, which turn a commodity into a ware, are obviously a sequence of social evolution. The uncivilized nations of the world exchange even now directly commodity for commodity—what we call barter.

During my stay in exile in Eastern Siberia I had plenty of chances to observe this kind of primitive trade and practiced it myself to the extent of my necessities.

When, with the advance of civilization, the amount of the wares thrown on the market (the number of commodities produced for exchange) increase in time and space, the necessity arrives for a commonly recognized measure of value (an equivalent of value), or a money ware. Such a ware was once, for instance, cattle, shells, beads, pieces of some metal, etc. This money was in some cases what we call "flat" money; that means it had no intrinsic value, as shells, leather, etc., or it was a ware as any other ware, as, for instance, gold dust kept in a skin of some bird, and which had an intrinsic value. The chief function of money—to serve as a medium of circulation—was to a great extent hampered as long as the money ware had to be weighed and estimated at each transaction. The state then stepped in and sanctioned by coinage certain money units. It is characteristic that the first coins bore the stamp of a cow and gave its name to Latin money—pecunia. From coin money to paper money was but one step. The difference between these two kinds of money sanctioned by the state or any other authority is that paper money cannot be issued without limitation. The 45,581 millions of francs issued by the French government during the years 1790-1797 totally depreciated. Another kind of money is credit money, such as notes, checks, etc.

It is the double significance of money as an exchangeable commodity on one hand and on the other as a measure of value which causes the most confusion. Let us first consider the significance of money as a ware. Our present economical system is based on ware production and ware exchange. We do not produce use values alone (that means commodities for our own exclusive use), but mainly for the use of other people, for the market. To claim, therefore, that fiat money is possible in our present economical system means to prove one's dense ignorance not only of our present whole economical fabric, but of the fundamental principles of economics. In a system of society where only use values are produced (in a socialist society), it would be, of course, different. As long as we produce commodities for exchange or wares we have to get a full equivalent for them in the shape of an equivalent of another ware—be it a generally-accepted equivalent, as a money ware or any other ware, having some use value for me or for others. But now let us consider money as a unit of value, or measure of value. Measures of length, weight, etc., are results of social-economic life. So is money as a measure of value. It is immaterial of what a yard stick or pound weight is made. A wooden yard stick has to be just as long as a silver, iron or ivory yard stick. A pound weight of iron has to be just as heavy as one of lead or brick. From this point of view it is indifferent if, and to what, extent a certain measure of value possesses intrinsic value itself. Society controls and fixes all kinds of measures and nobody should money as a measure of value be disputes its right to do so. Why, then, made an exception and escape the control of the state or society? Obviously there is no reason against the control of the money affairs of the nation by the state, and all reasons for it. The problem is only in doing it properly: that means having always in view both properties of money—that is, as a ware and as a measure of value. The state cannot fix the prices of wares—it is the function of the market, influenced by the laws of supply and demand. Whenever and wherever the state has tried to do it, it has failed ignominiously. But the market in its turn is influenced by the financial policy of the government to a great extent. Let us review briefly the monetary history of Europe from the classical antiquity to our own time.

(Continued in next issue)

OUR DELEGATE TO THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

PREPARE FOR CONGRESS OF 1900

Social Democratic Party of America Clasps Hands with the International Socialists of Europe—A Cordial Reception to Comrade Eugene Dietzgen.

Comrade Eugene Dietzgen, in a letter of May 28th, informs our comrades of his attendance at the conference of Socialists held in Brussels to arrange for the International Congress of 1900. Comrade Dietzgen attended the conference as a representative of the Social Democratic party of America, under a mandate from the National Executive Committee, Comrade Dietzgen being now a member of our party. Comrade Dietzgen writes as follows:

"I wish to thank the National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party for honoring me with its plenipotentiary mandate during my stay in Europe. Last night the preparatory conference for next year's International Congress came to an end. Delegates attended from Germany, Liebknecht and Singer; from France, from all five parties, among them Vaillant (Blanquist Socialist); Austria, Adler; Holland, Troelstra and Van Kol; England, Hyndman from the Social Democratic Federation, and Brocklehurst from the Independent Labor party; Italy, Rudani; Russia, Plechanow; Denmark, Knudsen; a delegate from Poland, and from the United States, Forker for the Socialist Labor party, and Dietzgen for the Social Democratic party of America.

"Mrs. Dietzgen and I arrived in Brussels on the 24th inst. On the 25th, at the Maison du Peuple, of which I enclose a cut, we met Liebknecht, Singer and Adler, and spent the day with them, and with the Belgian comrades, Anserle (deputy and chief leader in Ghent), and Fiermont, in the Chamber of Deputies and in the City Hall. In the morning of the next day, the 26th, Liebknecht, Singer and Adler called at our hotel, and we went together to the Art Museum.

"At noon, Vandervelde, the genial leader of the Belgian Socialists, joined us and invited us to dinner. On the evening of the 27th the bureau of the last International Congress at London in 1896 met at the Maison du Peuple. There were present, Vandervelde, Liebknecht, Singer, Adler, a delegate from France, Brocklehurst, Plechanow, Troelstra, Van Kol and Knudsen, Mrs. Dietzgen and myself being present as visitors.

"It was decided at the conference to send out an invitation to the 1900 Congress on the basis of the resolutions passed in London in 1896, and to include all trades unions, which though not as yet politically militant socialists, were endorsing political and legislative action as one of the chief means for the emancipation of the working class. By this arrangement the progressive trade unions will be admitted, and the anarchists excluded. There was a contest over admitting to participation in the congress trade unions not politically militant; and on this question I voted with the German and Austrian delegation to admit such trade unions, while Hyndman and Forker voted against admitting them. My vote shows the attitude of the Social Democratic party towards the trades union movement."

The remainder of the letter of Comrade Dietzgen states the proceedings of the conference as already reported in The Herald, and is therefore omitted.

A Christian's Confession.

Rev. S. B. Chalmers, pastor of the Disciples' Church, Cleveland, O., wanted to "know how it is yourself"—how Jesus Christ would be received in fashionable churches in a laborer's costume—so he donned an average workingman's outfit and entered a fashionable church which pays its pastor \$8,000 a year, and this is what he got:

"I stood in the aisle while many were taken by ushers down to the front. They wore better clothes. Finally, because I seemed to be in the way, I was pointed to a seat in the gallery and the last seat in the house. All the respect in the church was paid to the man with good clothes and a gold ring. No one spoke to me. I felt that I was not welcome. There was a stiffness about the service that was chilling. The sermon was historical and interesting, but such as could not smooth the ragged edge of common life. A man without hope would find no hope in it; a man without sympathy would find no sympathy in it; a man without Christ would find no Christ in it. But that church and that sermon are no better, nor yet any worse, than most others."

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1899.

The second volume of The Herald is started with this number, owing to the change of form to four larger pages, and for convenience in binding. Next week's issue will be the first anniversary number and will contain an unusual array of articles written expressly for it. Extra copies furnished at 1 cent each. It will be a splendid issue for propaganda.

The chair trust threw 1,000 traveling men out of employment. So we are assured. Well, how many of them have learned that the trust is one feature of an irresistible tendency towards a national and international combination which we call Socialism? Do these "experts" in trade think the combinations can be "smashed"? Do you think we can go backward to individual production?

Tolstoi is a type of the future man. His is a case of remarkable self-mastery. He gives the world his literary work and will not accept payment for it. His wife is rich and does not share his views. He himself is poor, having neither money nor property. When his views changed years ago he turned his belongings over to his family, and has since lived, as one writer puts it, as a guest in his wife's house.

If constitutions and laws are elastic enough to cover the exploitations of wealthy corporations, it is because such corporations are clever enough to know that control of the governing power of the country is essential to their schemes. When the people are ready to take into their own hands all the power, political and economic, then, and not before, will they have constitutions and laws that stand for justice instead of jugglery.

The Philippines have been hitched on to the capitalist juggernaut, whether there was constitutional warrant for it or not, but what have the people got and how much better off are they likely to be for it? What guarantee is there that a mob of capitalist politicians and their masters, who are degrading the men, women and children of their own country by seizing upon all the means of life to wring profits from labor, can "civilize" the people of another country?

Mrs. McKinley is reported to be a great dog fancier, and owns the largest St. Bernard in the world. Its name is Washington. A special servant is appointed to take care of the pets of the president's wife, and the dogs are groomed every morning. It is understood that Mrs. McKinley has become so expert in the dog line that she can determine a dog's breed by lifting it by the tail.

The labor organizations of Western Pennsylvania are reported to have invited that noble labor agitator, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, chief master workman of the Gatling Gun Union, to address them next week. We beg to suggest that the program is incomplete and not up to date. Gen. Merriam, who favors a law making the organization of labor unions a crime, has been overlooked. By all means send for Merriam, and Sheriff Martin, of Hazleton, too. Why not?

A little girl whose parents live on a farm was arrested in Milwaukee the other day for stealing small articles from the store where she worked and selling them to help pay her living expenses. Her weekly wage was \$2.50. Think of a young girl leaving home to earn her bread and then being forced to "eat" clothe herself and meet incidental expenses on \$2.50 a week! The judge before whom she was tried deferred passing sentence and it is thought she will be locked up in some reformatory until she is able to live on \$2.50 a week.

The press censorship in the Philippines—a censorship inaugurated by this "liberty-loving, star-spangled" American government—is working all times and over-time. It appears that the news we get of the daily victories of our troops over there is simply worthless. The American soldiers, it is reported, "consider themselves too good to fight 'niggers,'" and yet the natives who are fighting for liberty play all manner of pranks on their haughty assailants, and make that inflated warrior, General Otis, ridiculous. Moreover, there is a tendency in Europe to resent the Yankee assumption that the Filipinos are "insurgents." They are, in fact, nothing of

the sort, for they have never been subjects of this country. The press of Europe and of Canada begins to speak rather contemptuously of our attitude in the Philippines. Justice, London, makes fun of the English press—so ready to raise an outcry against the Turks—for the gingerly treatment they accord the Americans.

The Railway Conductor says that since Senator Spooner was returned to the United States Senate, "he has secured the appointment of more railroad men to government positions in his state than have, all put together, ever secured such appointments before." And it adds: "It will be a happy day for the working classes when all legislators take the same interest in the welfare of the working people." But all the working people can't have political jobs, Mr. Railway Conductor; what do you propose to do with the people for whom there are no political appointments and no employment under the capitalist system?

If there is one capitalization for taxation and another for dividends, it is evident that the fellows who control the dividends also control the assessor. And this is only another illustration of the truth that the class which has the mastery over the economic resources of the country also holds the whip hand over the government. No power but the common people can save a government from capitalist usurpers; no other power but the people can establish justice.

A subscriber asks whether the Social Democratic party favors practical or ideal Socialism. The party favors both the ideal and the practical, and the ideal is merging into the practical as rapidly as the workers understand that there is no hope for them in a continuation of capitalist production and distribution. The Social Democratic party's practical program is a reaching out for the ideal, and that ideal is nothing more than a democratic administration of industry; from that condition will develop a nobler and a truer life for all.

"Young men who desire to exploit opportunities in the Philippines will have an opportunity to do so while drawing Uncle Sam's pay, when the War Department calls for the 6,000 or 10,000 volunteers who will be needed to bring the force commanded by General Otis up to the required number."

That sounds like some sarcastic comment by a Socialist; but it is not. It is a sober piece of brutal, bourgeois philosophy on the part of the editor of the Milwaukee Daily Wisconsin. Oh, the shame of it. And yet it is a hopeful sign when men have to be bribed to enlist.

We have from time to time called attention to the position of directing influence held by the Socialists of France. It is steadily gaining strength, as may be clearly seen in the fact that during the week just passed the question of admitting a Socialist to the new cabinet has been in the very forefront of French politics. In the turmoil of the past year the most significant things about France have been the resolute opposition of the Socialists to the reactionary elements and the steady advance of Socialism in the country, not the least notable feature of which is the adhesion of the noted savant, de Pressense. The red rose in Paris is now looked upon with respect and even admiration.

Porto Rico, it now appears, is not the "gem" it was supposed to be when Uncle Sam took it so greedily unto his speculating bosom. Some of its unfavorable aspects are now coming out. It is as wet as a sponge the year round; platforms must be built for horses to stand on, so their hoofs will not rot away, and the inhabitants of the island are largely affected with tuberculosis and zymotic diseases. The natural advantages have been greatly overrated and people are now warned that it is a poor place for American investors and American laborers. The investors have gone there in greatest numbers and obviously our laborers had much better stay at home and be skinned under the refined processes of civilization than "to fly to it" they know not of.

The Arena magazine very truly says: "Every once in a while the daily press gives currency to extended reports of the failure of some community alleged to have been organized and conducted on the plan of Bellamy's 'Looking Backward.' Such failures are held up as demonstrations of the fallacy of the entire Socialistic idea, and especially of the Bellamy brand of Socialism. * * * Anyone who has read 'Looking Backward' or 'Equality,' the books in which Edward Bellamy's ideas of an ideal society are clearly set forth, knows perfectly well that he nowhere advocates the establishment of isolated communities or colonies; that everywhere he insists that the new order can only be established by the collective and concerted action of all the people of the nation. * * * All argument, therefore, as to the feasibility of Socialism, drawn from the failure of colonies, is unwarranted."

It is furthermore true that whenever Bellamy's name was connected with colony ventures, he distinctly disavowed any relation to them or sympathy with their projectors.

BACKWARD OR FORWARD?

It is a source of genuine amusement to the Socialist these days to observe how every hard thing he had to say in years gone by about the combinations of capital to control the means of production and the necessities of life for private profit are finding daily repetition in the capitalist press among the middle class of profit seekers, the members of which have been crushed to the wall by the trust organizations. The power of the trusts, in the economic field as well as in practical politics, to wield complete mastery over all competitors, to control the courts, direct legislation, abrogate the prerogatives and exercise the functions of government comes every morning to a considerable body of the people as a revelation, something to be marveled at. And yet, it is a matter of fact and record that the trusts wield only the measure of influence in our industrial and political life which the Socialist has always predicted and insisted they would. The trusts are nothing more than a legitimate outcome of the competitive system, aided in their mastery over the economic life of the people by modern discovery and invention, which have contributed potentially to production on the large scale we now see.

Outside the Socialist movement all proposed methods for dealing with the trusts are confused and chaotic. The dispossessed middle class look either to legislation to "smash the trusts," or persuade themselves that the way out is through the nationalization of railroads. The latter were represented the other day by Mr. L. M. Lockwood, of Zelenople, Pa., before the industrial commission, who testified as follows:

If you have got to be robbed, it does not matter whether you are held up by Dick Turpin with a pistol, or by John Rockefeller with a railroad; it's robbery all the same. The discrimination of the railroads in favor of the Standard Oil Company and against independent refiners resulted in giving the Standard Company a profit of 40 per cent., while the independents were driven into bankruptcy. If the railroad companies can control the appointment of the attorney general and of justices of the supreme court, what do they care for the law? Judge Albert Haight, of the New York court of appeals was elevated to his present position by the corporations through the use of a corruption fund. Take the railroads out of the hands of the corporations and place them under the control of the government, so that every man can go to market as cheaply as every other man. There would then be no more shooting down of miners. If the government does not control the railroads, the railroads will control the government. Take the roads under right of eminent domain and pay the owners actual value for their property.

Now, Mr. Lockwood is or has been an oil producer. His evidence shows that he has felt the power of the trust, and he wants to break it up by making government the owner of the railroads. For what purpose? To enable him and others like him to take a step backward to individual, competitive production of oil. The old order of skinning the people is to be restored and the government used as an agent—operating the means of transportation—in the skinning process.

But that will never do. It means an attempt to check the historical evolution of industry carried on by large capitalists in behalf of a lot of small capitalists. It is illogical and reactionary. The logical and historically necessary course is, not to erect a governmental department of transportation for the benefit of a large number of small capitalists who, under the wage system, will pay no higher compensation to labor than circumstances compel or the trusts now do, but to take that one masterful step which the Socialist proposes, the transformation of both the means of transportation and production into social property, which alone can solve the labor problem, establish justice, free all classes from exploitation and inaugurate an era of good will among men.

Trust expansion and not extinction is the need, just as it is the irresistible tendency, of the times.

The Spread of Socialism.

The following is a quotation from a long article by Dr. Washington Gladden, in the Outlook, May 13:

"Is it not time that sober men and women of all classes were trying to think over the question of trusts and see what the issues must be? Can the enormous creation of fictitious capital which we are now witnessing have any other significance than this—a determination to exact from the industries of the country vast contributions for services not rendered? Is this consistent with justice or freedom? Is not this the very substance of feudal oppression? Will a free people continue to submit to it? 'Universal corporate compulsion in the interest of capital' is the goal toward which, in the estimate of Prof. Small, our economic world is moving. Of course we shall not tarry at that goal; probably we shall never reach it. The swifter and the stronger the movement toward it, the more prompt and resolute will be the revolt. When the purpose becomes evident, these vast aggregations of capital will be seized, their holders will be expropriated, and the properties will pass under the control of the people. 'Industrial feudalism, when it is finished, will be speedily transformed into industrial democracy.'"

The Central Federated Union of New York has resolved to demand the trial by court-martial of Merriam, the bully of Idaho, and his removal for using troops to enforce rules for the running of mines in the interest of wealthy corporations and against organized labor.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

History repeats itself. Since the beginning of human life two forces have been waging constant conflict.

One of these has been the love of human might, that faculty in man which has made him oppress his fellows, and hold them in his power by means of force, fraud and finance.

The other has been the love of human right, that faculty in man which makes him regard all mankind as his kin, and respect every man's right as he would his own.

The history of the world is but the history of the age-old conflict between these forces—between might and right, between autocracy and democracy, between money and man, between evil and good.

And though the scenes and the standards may change, yet the struggle is ever the same.

For the sequel to life's pages
Is a nobler human plan,
The fruition of the ages
Is the sovereignty of man.

Forty years ago these forces met in open conflict, and the right prevailed.

In these present days, almost identical conditions prevail, and 1900 and 1860 will be years almost coincident in significance and event.

In each, the great social fact is slavery, the only difference being a change of complexion.

The blot of chattel slavery has been replaced by the bigger, blacker, ghastlier blot of wage slavery.

The negro has escaped from the plantation purgatory of the south, but now both black and white have alike been cast into an industrial hell.

The so-called "emancipation" was simply the transference of the negroes from the old, decaying prison of chattel slavery to the newer, stronger prison of wage slavery.

It was but the rescue of a race from the pool of bondage and the flinging of a class into the seething sea of want.

Fact is more than form. Better be slaves in form and free in fact than free in form and slaves in fact.

Today the negro has been advanced to the position of the white man, and the white man has been degraded to the black level, and both suffer and slave and starve.

The scenes have shifted and the forms changed. The field becomes the factory, "massa" becomes the "boss," and the driver becomes the foreman.

In the old days slaves were herded into the slave pens, and bought and sold in the market. Go into any employment office, and see in those modern slave pens free men and women waiting and wishing for a chance to sell themselves at any price to any bidder.

In slavery times bloodhounds were used to track and capture the fleeing fugitives. Today the myriad bloodhounds of the law are used to hunt down any man who dares rebel against legal and industrial tyranny. No hound could be more untiring and keen than the conscienceless agent of a debt collecting firm.

In those days the slave was tied to place and person. How many workmen are there who live in the place of their choice, and do the work of their choice, and who dare give up their jobs?

Then the slaves' families were torn apart, and husband parted from wife, and brother from sister. Under present conditions families are severed quite as much, and as cruelly, as then.

In a choice, wage slavery was better far, for it was better to be fettered and fed than to be freed and starved.

In those days a slave was worth \$1,500; today, by a judicial decision, a wage slave is worth \$10.

There is a great similarity between the government of 1899 and that of 1860.

The craven Buchanan, pliant in the hands of his knavish cabinet, has a good parallel in the jelly-fish McKinley, whose mind is as changeable as his clothes, and who is the submissive tool of the capitalistic cabinet.

The notorious John B. Floyd, who betrayed the munitions of war into the hands of the south, finds a first cousin in Russell Alger, who betrayed the very lives of the American soldiers for the cursed gain of the traitorous trusts.

Howell Cobb, the Judas of the treasury, who rifled the vaults for the slaveholders, was no more infamous than Gage, who seeks now to put all monetary power into the hands of the banks.

And Jeff Davis, the hub of the wheel of rebellion, finds reincarnation in the person of Mark Hanna, the chief engineer of the republican pumping plant that is forcing the water of wealth from the low levels of industrial life into the great reservoirs of aristocratic luxury above.

Talk about secession!

A few weeks ago Bradley-Martin, the social aeronaut and fancy ball giver of New York, forswore his allegiance to the American flag to escape paying his

taxes as a citizen, and has gone to revel in Parisian luxury.

And to our shame be it known that American slaves will still spill their blood to keep this ship of pleasure afloat, and American law will still enforce the payment of every unearned cent of dividend and interest!

A New Jersey heiress this week married an Austrian prince, and in doing so has followed the examples of scores of other rich fools, and seceded from the United States with her wealth.

Astor seceded some time ago with his vast millions, and now uses America as a slave plantation.

Some weeks ago a Baptist preacher named Henson declared that the Declaration of Independence, if taken literally, was one of the greatest falsehoods palmed off by the devil on a credulous world.

And to the eternal shame of Chicago, that parson remains untarred, unfeathered, and unhung!

It is not a single case; it is a symptom of a spreading thought. The hardy manliness of our ancestors has degenerated into the pulpy passivity of an abject servitude.

Independence is no longer a fact, hence it is natural that some should deem its declaration a fancy.

And worst of all is the universal public apathy regarding the outcome of industrial conditions.

Just as the north counted upon an amicable solution or a cowardly compromise until the very eve of battle, so the great American public are pushing this question from them, and fancying it will some time right itself.

It is a deadly mistake. The only preventative of a recurrence of the scenes of '61 is an awakening to present danger, and an immediate and orderly organization for the scientific and socialistic solution of the great social problem.

Unless socialist parties grow very rapidly there is no outlook save that of conflict and carnage.

Do your part, and if you are a slave in industry, cut half your chains by becoming a freeman in politics by joining the S. D. P.

MERLIN.

Van Propaganda in Wisconsin.

To the Comrades in Wisconsin: Our members in Milwaukee have been for some time raising a fund with which to put an organizer at work in the state, and have now the sum of \$135 on hand, with a very creditable increase from week to week. While to an outsider it would appear that the money comes slowly, it does not seem so to those of us who are in the movement and who know what sacrifices the members have to make in order to contribute. While the great, flabby, silly world is gushing over the exploits of a Dewey and a Hobson and raising funds mountain high in order to load them down with homes and trophies and the like, they do not know, nor would they appreciate if they did, the heroism to be found in the breasts of some of our more humble Socialist workers, who sacrifice so nobly for the cause of true humanity. And so our fund grows, and soon an organizer will be in the field carrying the glad tidings of man's emancipation to the smaller cities and towns of the state, and particularly to those places where the toiling classes have congested.

It was first the dream of some of us, and then our hope, that this work of agitation and organization might be made more effective and create more public attention, through the securing of a gypsy van for our agitator and possible assistants to travel in, and now the time seems to be come for making an appeal to the comrades throughout the state (and there are a good many of them, though they are scattered) to help us in the attempt to fit up a suitable wagon. Wisconsin has groups of towns sufficiently near together to make such travel worth while, as for instance the string of industrial towns along the lake shore, and then there is another reason why such a van would be a success. In England, where "vanning" is much resorted to, various Socialists take turns at helping the "vanners" in their work, and this could be done here. Nearly everyone has a week's vacation; what finer way could be imagined than to spend that week with the van, helping to sell literature or to drum up the crowds, or to take a turn in the speaking! Such an experience will be both restful and invigorating, and the practice will be helpful. The socialist movement is becoming more and more vital every day. We are not dreaming; we are DOING! Please think the matter over, and if you feel that you want to help, even with a trifle, drop me word. My address is 612 Broadway, Milwaukee. Due acknowledgment will be made of all assistance received. The total amount needed is not much, and it can be made up by a little here and there very nicely. With socialist greetings, I am sincerely,

FREDERIC HEATH.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscriber a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

COLORADO.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 3 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Merrer, Secretary, 1738 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 2nd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 883 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 2 p. m., New Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank street.

ILLINOIS.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 254 Westworth ave.
Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island ave. Secretary, Fred Jonas, 667 Center ave.
Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 2d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karcel, cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary, Frank Ort, 398 W. 18th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 335 Blue Island ave.

INDIANA.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND.

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.
Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 311 W. German St. Secretary, Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 3, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 32 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Fin. Sec. Treas.

Branch 9 (Mass.), Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, corner of Main and Center streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

Branch No. 8, Massachusetts, Brockton—meets first and third Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutler's hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, 332 W. Elm street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 103 Washington street, Boston. All communications and money intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the Secretary, Margaret Hall, 6 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 425 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. J. Nash, 1223 N. Broadway.
St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2d Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m. and every 3d Sunday at 9:30 a. m. at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langhirt, 343 Tennessee ave.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Rhine Hall, 13th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 304 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m. at Vlt's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krieth, 324 Michigan ave.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday at 8 p. m. at 490 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenthal, 357 Cowan street.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Moore streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 1112 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Wards Branch (5th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 2446 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Harishorn, 350 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every Wednesday at 8 p. m. at 1031 South Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 1031 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. and every 3d Sunday at 9:30 a. m. at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomsen, 2331 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (13th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m. and every 3d Sunday at 9:30 a. m. at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1516 Mississippi avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth Ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 4241 Warner avenue. Organizer, G. Oandler, 4105 N. 20th street.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 30 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer, Anna F. Smith, 3006 Indiana avenue.

NEW YORK.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 112 Clinton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 234 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th st., Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 231 Madison street.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y., Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge street, meets every 2d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city.

Branch No. 2, New York (23 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 325 E. 8th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 FORT 8th street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division St., Secretary.

OHIO.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Nickrick; Secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. in Funk Hall, South 4th and Josephine sts. President, W. Bohn, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2113 Jane st.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 7:30 of Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 538 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening at 8:15 in Gertrude's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, S. 13th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Merschel, Secretary, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus Hall, 717 Center street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. at No. 618 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

New Hampshire.

Comrade John Cahill has left us and will live in his old home, Marlboro. Our loss is Massachusetts' gain.

An effort is being made to have Comrade Claffin take the field in the joint interest of the S. D. P. and Appeal to Reason. Comrade Claffin is the best newspaper canvasser in this state and if he takes the field, great good will result.

Organization is the real thing. Comrades, swell the propaganda fund; we want an organizer in the west; also in the great state of Texas.

ORGANIZER.

Debs at Newcastle.

I want to say to the comrades that Comrade Eugene V. Debs gave about 500 of the citizens of this place a most decided surprise on the evening of the 13th inst. There were bankers, merchants, politicians (even the Hon. Thomas W. Phillips) present to hear "the dreamer, the enthusiast, the anarchist." But after hearing him they could say nothing less than that it was "the most eloquent speech I ever heard." One very prominent lady grasped his (Debs') hand and exclaimed, "I came here expecting to hear a lecture, but I heard a sermon." You will hear from that speech or of its effect later. It is marvelous to hear the expressions of many who heard it, and I will say that our cause has been given a mighty push forward. Our local branch has been watered by his eloquence, fed by his logic and enthused by his truth. Long live the S. D. P. and Eugene V., its apostle.

J. W. SLAYTON.

Organization in Kentucky.

All Socialists in Kentucky who are willing to lend their aid in getting a Socialist electoral ticket on the official ballot in this state in 1900, that all Socialists in the state may have an opportunity to cast their votes for straight Socialist candidates for president and vice-president next year, are urged to write me at 2005 Olmstead avenue, Louisville, Ky.

It is essential that a state organization be formed in Kentucky as soon as possible.

Let it not be said of us that Kentucky was the last state to organize to work for the coming of the co-operative commonwealth. JAS. H. ARNOLD, Louisville. Secretary.

Branch 5, Brooklyn, N. Y., will distribute The Herald through the hotels and reading rooms and is carrying on a more effective propaganda than ever before. The members use large quantities of Gordon's pamphlets in their work.

A new branch was organized at North Abington, Mass., June 15, by Comrade A. T. Clancy. The chairman is John J. Fox; recording and financial secretary, J. P. Nash; treasurer, William H. Buckley. It has good material for a start and will grow and do its share of the work which lies before us.

Comrade Frank McCaffrey reports a new branch organized at Leontonia, Ohio, which will become a centre of future activity. The officers are: Stephen Sheperd, chairman; Denis Conley, vice-chairman; William Williams, secretary; Richard Payne, treasurer; Frank McCaffrey, organizer.

In response to the expressed willingness of Branches 3 and 6, Indianapolis, to send one delegate to the July conference with the National Executive Board at Chicago, and also to co-operate with other branches in Indiana to defray the expenses of a delegate at large, the Linton branch has declared in favor of such action and suggests that a comrade from Terre Haute be chosen. The interest in the work of the organization manifested by some of the smaller branches like Linton should act as an inspiration to comrades who are better circumstanced. The boys at Linton were employed during the last half of May from a day and a half to four days a week.

A new branch organized last Saturday, June 17, at Cincinnati, includes in its membership the national secretaries of the Brewery Workmen's National Union. Comrades Chas. F. Bechtold and Julius Zorn, also J. L. Franz, editor of the official journal of the union, the Brauer-Zeitung, and other officials of the organization. The branch starts out under good auspices and will double its membership in a few weeks. The branch is officered as follows: Fr. Hamel, chairman; Norbert Frueh, vice-chairman; J. L. Franz, secretary; Philip Basler, financial secretary; Geo. Hilker, treasurer; Julius Zorn, organizer. The next meeting will be held Saturday, June 24, at Workman's Hall, Walnut street.

Branch 7 (12th Ass. Dist.) S. D. P., N. Y., at its regular meeting, held Friday, June 9th, at Pleasure Palace Hotel, after a deliberate and enthusiastic discussion, in which all the members participated, decided to enter in the fall campaign. Com. Jos. Barondess will be our candidate for the Assembly. At the last election Com. Barondess polled nearly 800 votes, regardless of the fact that there was practically no organization in the district to back him. This year we en-

ter the political battlefield armed with past experience and, above all, a strong branch, true to the cause and unflinching in principle, and this inspires us with the hope of the ultimate success that will crown our efforts in behalf of humanity. We are up for business, and we are bound to follow the example set by our Haverhill comrades. A fund to defray the campaign expenses was raised, toward which our members subscribed \$70. The following new officers were elected: Chairman, Coopeman; vice-chairman, Whitehorn; recording secretary, Goldstein; financial secretary, Rosenberg; organizer, J. Liphitz. Comrades, watch our reports, for we mean to make them interesting.

JACOB LIPHITZ, Organizer.

Quincy, Mass.

Although Quincy does not occupy much space in The Herald, it does not mean that we are idle. We spend our energy in hard work among the voters, trying to make them Social Democrats. Since last writing we had Mrs. Mary E. Lease, of Kansas, and Rev. F. O. McCartney, of Rockland, and have had crowded public agitation meetings. We are to hold public meetings in each of the six wards of this city, and if hard work and enthusiasm count for anything, Quincy will have a Social Democratic administration after the election next fall. Our organization is now on a solid footing and members are coming in fast, which is causing the old party politicians many sleepless nights at present, but we will give them a chance to take a vacation shortly. LAMB.

Baltimore, Md.

It is seldom the readers of The Herald hear from Baltimore. Yet we are not dead, nor even sleeping. We have recently passed through a municipal campaign, the result of which was not exactly what we expected. We expected more and were somewhat disappointed with the vote. Yet when we take everything into consideration, it was very good. None of the comrades have become discouraged; on the contrary, they are working with renewed energy. Since the election Branch 2 has taken in twenty new members. Branch 1 has taken out a new lease of life; on June 13 they had a large and enthusiastic meeting at Manhattan Hall, East Baltimore street, which was addressed by Com. A. Cahon, of New York. Branch 3 is steadily pegging away in their good old German style.

On Sunday, July 2, the Karl Marx Club will hold an excursion, the proceeds of which will be devoted to the campaign. We hope all the comrades will turn out and help to make it a success.

On Monday, July 3, there will be a joint meeting of the three branches for the purpose of nominating a state ticket.

We will enter the coming campaign in a much better condition than the last. With more men, more money, more confidence and a better organization, we cannot but make a longer stride towards the conquest of the public powers. Never before did we realize the dawning as at present. The new time is very near. Let this perception stir us to serious work. I am confident we will see socialism in our time.

WM. A. TOOLE.

Philadelphia.

Branch 5 of Pennsylvania at its last meeting indorsed the resolution of Branch 9 of Indiana in regard to the matter of sending a delegate to the Workingmen's International Congress, to be held at Paris next year. But taking into consideration that on account of the exhibition which is to take place in Paris next year the traveling expenses will be greatly reduced, Branch 5 of Pennsylvania thinks it possible and practicable to send two delegates instead of one, as suggested.

This Branch is strongly against giving the executive board full power to elect the delegate or delegates. It is of the opinion that such matters should be left for the party in general to decide through the referendum.

To the Branches of the S. D. P. in Pennsylvania.—Comrades: Branch 5 of Philadelphia, knowing that strength and number of Branches in our state is not what it can be when we work together in the proper way, would like you to consider the following proposition:

Whether it is possible and practicable to have a state convention this summer. The necessity for it is quite apparent. We must have some sort of organization if we want to send delegates to the conference called by the N. E. B. We must also have somebody whose duty it shall be to organize branches in this state when and wherever possible. We can't go into the campaign this year, but we must be prepared for active work in 1900.

Branch 5 will temporarily act as state committee until the branches throughout the state shall elect one. All correspondence on this matter to be addressed to M. Goldberg.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Eugene V. Debs	5.00
Monte Carlo	5.00
Seymour Stein	1.00
Yakum, Tex. (no name)	1.00
M. Josephson	1.00
A. Keen	1.00
Previously reported	16.50
Total	\$17.50

Haverhill, Mass.

It is some time since our last letter and I presume that some of the comrades are wondering if we are doing anything here. To such as may thus wonder let me say that our boys are over head and ears in business, with eyes open and watchful in the interest of the movement and ever alert pushing forward our principles.

The duties and responsibilities of public office such as our comrades hold are no trifles, when it is considered that they have to work ten hours a day, and some of them even more than that, between meetings of the city council, committee meetings, Branch meetings and sessions of the executive board. Most every evening is occupied. For the past few weeks our comrades at city hall have been very busy on committee work, especially on the committee on public property and the street committee. The former is now engaged in erecting a new manual training school and are also building a vault in city hall for the use of the city engineer. These undertakings are a radical departure from former methods. Previously all such work was given out by contract. We have put a stop to contract work, which necessitates the city doing such work by day labor. The vault is nearing completion and the manual training school is well under way. Our comrades on this committee naturally take a great deal of interest and give a great amount of their time to this work, for this is an experiment on the part of the city. Although we are a minority on this committee, as on all others, and cannot do things just as we wish, yet we feel that the undertaking will be a success and put a stop to contract work along those lines. The construction of other buildings is soon to be undertaken by the committee. The committee on streets is also a busy body. Some \$30,000 is to be expended by this department. About \$24,000 has already been placed, and for the first time in the history of the city the appropriation has been distributed justly and fairly, and the welfare of the citizens as a whole considered. During previous years about all the appropriation has been placed where the political and industrial masters of the people desired it, which was generally in that portion of the city used by them as residents. Leading thoroughfares have been neglected and the avenues of the possessed put in apple-pie order. The Socialists, although they are a minority, prevented this unfair distribution this year, and about all the appropriation goes to the neglected portions of the city. Mortgage Hill gets but little this year.

Our comrade, the Mayor, has been having a tilt with the street railway company regarding the fulfilling of the contract which they signed when a franchise was given them to extend their line to Ward Hill, a suburb of the city. The contract plainly says that in the event of the company changing the grade, that the change shall be uniform throughout the whole width of the street. The grade has been changed in some parts, the company having graded the street, but did not touch the sidewalk, which, of course, is a part of the street. Result, the sidewalk at places is some three feet below the street, and in the spring and fall will fill with water and slush and make walking dangerous. The company refused to fulfill their contract, saying it is unjust. The Mayor has forced them to this point and the matter is now to go to the courts. THE U. S. DISTRICT ATTORNEY IS FIGHTING THE COMPANY'S BATTLE WHILE THE BUSINESS OF HIS DEPARTMENT IS BEING NEGLECTED. This same U. S. attorney has all winter long been fighting against the people he is supposed to represent. This matter has hung fire ever since the extension was built, some three or four years ago, but no city official has dared to force the company to fulfill their contract until our Comrade Chase took it in hand.

Now that our state ticket is nominated, we will soon begin an aggressive state campaign. As regards the situation locally, we have it from a reliable source that the two old parties have it all fixed between them and that their plans for our downfall are about complete. A combination of republicans and democrats seems certain; whether they will do it openly or secretly is yet to be determined. There is no doubt but that the treasury of the Boston & Maine railroad will be brought into the local contest on account of its bearing on the abolition of grade crossings. Let them come; we will be ready, and we feel sure that the funeral procession which will occur after election will be distinctly an old party affair.

Our comrades in the surrounding towns are also getting into trim for the coming skirmish. In West Newbury they have had some difficulty in obtaining a suitable hall, but have now secured one and will be heard from later. But one or two towns in this senatorial district remain unorganized. We will attend to those soon.

The periodical dullness in the shoe business is already being felt. Hundreds of operatives are already unemployed and in a few weeks hundreds more will be freed from toil and have an opportunity to bask in the sun of prosperity which they say is now shining upon us. Fraternally,

C. A. FRASER.

MUSINGS

IV.

If the reign of Mark Hanna lasts long enough, New York will be deprived of its great distinguishing feature. Instead of being, as it now is, an empire state in a republic, it may become a republican state in an empire.

Dreyfus is returning to France. So is sense. Never say die!

The opponents of the "farmers' plank" in our platform seem to forget one important point: Objectionable as that plank may be—and I, for my part, am more of a Martinite than Charles R. himself—it serves the good purpose of keeping out some "other organization" men who might otherwise have joined us before getting a wash.

Whatever we do, pray let us have free and full discussion. None but those who have dwelt in the darkness all their life will object to the light thrown on the subject.

It was outside the South Place Institute in London. The hall keeper had been late in opening the door for us, and we had grouped ourselves around the speaker of the evening. A kind of promiscuous conversation followed. Suddenly somebody, addressing our speaker, said:

"What do you take to be the difference between evolution and revolution?" "Well," said our friend, "simply this: When the hen, for the space of twenty days, is sitting upon the eggs, there is a process of evolution going on. On the twenty-first day the shells break, and the new life sees the light of day. That is the revolution."

The speaker was William Morris.

"So long," said Jaures, recently, "as there will be anti-Semites in France, we, the Socialists, will fight them."

To have the friendship of men like Jaures, I should have liked to be a Jew, if fate had not anticipated my wish.

Talking about the Jews, for every pawnbroker I will give you a hundred Socialists, and let us call it quits.

When you see the Irish, the Jews, and the women, in other words, the oppressed of hundreds, thousands and myriads of years, in the movement, make up your mind that it is bound to spread until all oppression is over and done with.

You may adversely criticize Victor Hugo to your heart's content. From a realistic, or rather naturalistic, point of view, you possibly cannot help doing so. But let me tell you something: That great Frenchman has all through his long and fruitful, as well as eventful, life pleaded for the human race.

As you read him you seem to hear him say: "Look at this Fantine whom I have picked up from the gutter. This 'fallen woman' was a self-sacrificing mother. Her fall was due to the wickedness of your social order, her greatness to that masterpiece of nature which is called a mother's heart."

He furthermore shows you that the brutal bloodhound Javert, who served Property in the capacity of a police spy, was after all an individual with a high sense of duty. He finds an element of goodness even in that perverted high-priestess of poison and incestuous lust, Lucretia Borgia.

He demonstrates to you that a public courtesan such as Marion Delorme is capable of finding her salvation in a pure love, while a man like Triboulet, with an ugly soul in a deformed body, one who seems to you and me half Caliban and half Mephisto, has, according to Victor Hugo, that great redeeming feature, a boundless attachment to his offspring.

The same is his way with nearly all his "villains." He says: There are evil deeds and evil-doers, but the former are traceable to society and the latter are not unmitigatedly bad. The worse they are, the more his mind is made up that for their misdeeds—to paraphrase James Russell Lowell—God will send the bill to us.

M. WINCHEVSKY.

"The Industrial Evolution," by Rev. Chas. H. Vail, from which an extract appeared in a recent issue of this paper, is an admirable pamphlet for propaganda work. Mr. Vail is one of a few ministers who accept Socialism without any frills and this last bit of work of his is good. It is published at 5 cents by the Commonwealth Company, 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscriber a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.

THE LABOR WORLD

Toronto, Canada.

The leading trades unionists of Toronto have organized an independent labor party.

Zurich, Switzerland.

"This looks very much like peace and disarmament," says the Socialist organ of this city, "Volksrecht." The Swiss federal council demands over 4 million francs for war material, against 3 1-2 million in the previous year.

Brussels, Belgium.

The annual report of the National Committee of the Social Democratic Party says that the Socialists in Belgium have gained 187,000 new votes during the last four years, making an annual increase of the Socialist vote of over 46,000.

Copenhagen, Denmark.

The capitalist class of this country is waging a war of extermination against organized labor. Over 40,000 men, mostly building trades workers, have been locked out by their employers. According to latest advices the number of locked-out men has increased to over 50,000.

Johannesburg, So. Africa.

Social Democracy is making itself felt even in the South African republic. On May 15 a meeting was held in the chamber of the city council and it was decided to organize an independent labor party. The executive board of the new party is composed mainly of Social Democrats.

Geneva, Switzerland.

L'italiano is the name of a new Social Democratic paper published in this city, in the Italian language. The paper pays special attention to the organization of the Italian wage-workers driven from their country by the rotten government of King Umberto and his feudal-capitalist class.

Berlin, Germany.

Since June 14 over 8,000 building trades workers have been locked out by their employers. Some of the men had insisted on an increase of wages; the bosses refused to grant the demand, a strike followed, and now the bosses have declared a general lock-out in order to break up the solid trades union movement.

Brunn, Austria.

The strike of the 10,000 textile workers of this city is still on. About 25,000 florins have been collected in Austria for the striking men and women. The trades union congress of Germany has sent 10,000 marks as a donation to the strikers. Every Austrian trade unionist will have to pay 25 cents a week into the Brunn strike fund.

Breslau, Germany.

In order to find free board and lodging the workman, Oscar Frost, of this city, concluded to "offend" the Emperor of Germany by making some puerile remarks about him. Result: Frost was promptly arrested, charged with lese majeste and sentenced to twelve months' free board and lodgings in the penitentiary. Frost is smiling for accomplishing his purpose.

Berlin, Germany.

The Socialist organ, "Vorwarts," publishes a strong attack on the chancellor of the empire, Prince von Hohenlohe, calling attention to the miserable condition of the farm laborers at Schillingsfurst, at which place Prince Hohenlohe's splendid castle and farm is situated. The "Vorwarts" claims that Hohenlohe and his family were living in luxury in Berlin, while the poor proletarians at Schillingsfurst were living like homeless dogs.

Madrid, Spain.

In the city of Bilbao the Social Democrats have gained three new seats in the recent municipal elections, thus increasing the number of Socialists in the council to six. In Burgos our comrades have also elected an alderman; also one in Baracaldo and one in Labarga. Socialism is making fine progress in Spain, especially since the war with Uncle Sam. The comrades of Spain are of the opinion that the American "war of extermination" in the Philippine islands will also open the eyes of the American proletariat.

Moscow, Russia.

The social warfare is going on fiercely while the czar's representatives are spending their time at The Hague playing the first fiddle in the concert of European plutocracy. In Wilna a dress-maker by the name of Mrs. Gordon was arrested. In her possession the police found many Social Democratic pamphlets and leaflets. The police visited a number of houses, searching the inhabitants for Socialist literature. A lawyer by the name of Koslowsky has also been arrested on the charge of being a Socialist agitator.

Manila, Philippine Islands.

The blood of the brave Filipinos fighting for freedom is flowing freely. According to General Anderson, the heavy losses of the American troops in the recent engagements with the Filipinos at Pinas and Bacoar, south of Manila, were caused by the cannon which Admiral Dewey presented to Aguinaldo last winter. The batteries in question are being manipulated by Spanish prisoners who,

General Anderson says, have been released by Aguinaldo, with the understanding that they enlist in the insurgent army.

General Anderson took the first detachment of troops to the Philippines last summer and was a prominent figure in the first negotiations between this country and the Filipino government. "When Admiral Dewey captured Cavite he took possession of a lot of artillery and later presented it to Aguinaldo," said the general. "The insurgents removed the field pieces to Las Pinas and adjacent points, and have kept them there ever since. It is these cannon that are now being used by the insurgents against our troops with such terrible effect in the province south of Manila. These guns are manned by Spanish prisoners who have been given their liberty and enlisted in Aguinaldo's army."

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Every Coward Soul Shall Die.

Who fails to strike when man's assailed,
For fear of selfish pain or loss;
Who weakly cowers when Right is nailed
Upon the proud world's heavy cross;
Who fails to speak the splendid word
Of bold defiance to a lie;
Whose voice for truth is faintly heard
When party passions mount on high;
Who dares no struggling cause espouse,
And loves no paths by martyr's blood;
Whose timorous soul no call can rouse
To dare to stand alone with God—
That man is coward, and no deeds
Of valor done on fields of strife
Can prove his courage. Battle meeds
Are naught beside a tested life.

Who dallies with temptation's lure,
Nor hurls his tempter from the ground;
Who champions not the weak, the poor,
Whom power and strength with cords have bound;
Who bows obsequious to the strong
And cringes what he knows is weak;
Who palters with a deadly wrong,
And dares no vengeance on it wreak;
Who crouches in opinion's leash,
And dares his own true thought proclaim;
Who never with an impulse rash
Ran on before his time, is tame.
Is coward, and no work appears
Which lists, God's edict from on high
Says, courage shall outlast the years,
But every coward soul shall die.
—Hattie Tyng Griswold.

Zanesville Hears Debs.

Eugene V. Debs and his manager, L. W. Rogers, registered at the Kirk house yesterday afternoon. To a Times Recorder reporter the great labor leader talked quite entertainingly of his pet theory, which forms the theme of his lecture, "Labor and Liberty." Said he: "I am simply a lay member of organized labor now, and have no official capacity. I am, however, a member of the Social Democratic party which was formed a year ago this month at Chicago. We have now organizations in twenty-two states and I predict that we will poll from two to three hundred thousand votes next year. * * *

"All manufacturing industries are centralizing, the iron seeking ore and fuel producing localities, the cotton, the south, and so on all along. It will probably take a decade to bring about the conditions I foreshadow, and we may pass through a crisis before the end is reached, but the American people are an intelligent people and will pass through the ordeal unscathed."

Mr. Debs was quite tired and sleepy, having traveled far, so did not hold a reception. He is a splendid specimen of American manhood, standing full six feet in his stockings and built proportionately. His features are strong and his teeth would indicate never having suffered bodily sickness. As a conversationalist he shines; the personal magnetism putting one on easy terms with him at once.

Last evening Mr. Debs delivered one of his most successful lectures entitled "Labor and Liberty," at Memorial hall. There was a fair sized audience in attendance and to say that they were more than satisfied with the result of his lecture is putting it rather mildly. He is certainly an orator of wonderful ability and the strength of his arguments was more forcibly impressed by his strong personality, which aside from his other endowments undoubtedly make him a leader among his fellow men.

Last night's lecture was one of the best efforts and was deserving of a larger patronage than that accorded him. In detail he vividly pictured the present condition of the workingman, his hopes for the future and what remedies were best suited for the betterment of his condition.

The trusts also came in for their share of his disapproval and it was on this subject particularly that he eloquently besought the laboring man of today to unite with their strongest forces and leave no stone unturned in order to take hold and control these menaces to their welfare and to their existence.

Labor and Liberty, free from the effects of serfdom and of slavery, equal rights to all with special privileges to none was his battle cry, and those present were more than impressed with his arguments. Mr. Debs did not fail to pay a flattering compliment to the members of the Trades and Labor Council of this city for the work that they have been doing in the interests of labor and for their excellent organization. He spoke for a period of two hours and at the conclusion of his address the audience gave him a rousing reception, expressing in the most vehement tones their high regard for his principles and doctrines.—Zanesville (O.) Times-Recorder.

The Cause and Cure of Crime.

In a book bearing this somewhat comprehensive title, Professor Lombroso, the celebrated Italian Socialist and criminologist, replies to some of the numerous criticisms that his previous works have evoked, and endeavors to extend and systematize further his theory of criminology. Far from instilling pessimistic ideas, he says, his school of thought is really the only one that furnishes any scientific method of preventing or remedying crime. From a French translation of Lombroso's preface, published in the Revue Scientifique (May 13), we give the following paragraphs in which the author explains his position:

"Our school is accused of having overlooked the study of the economic and social causes of crime, and of not having been able to suggest any remedy, thus giving over the delinquent to his fate, as a consecrated victim, and abandoning humanity to his atavistic ferocity. * * * But it is not right to condemn a school because it has brought to light a fact, and the truth is that while other scientists have not proposed any efficacious means of preventing crime except the cruel and sterile empiricism of prisons and deportations, and while the most practical peoples have reached good results only sporadically and after contradictory experiments, my school has inaugurated a whole new system for foreseeing crime by the study of its causes and by basing action on its indications."

"In the first place, the distinction between the criminaloid, the criminal of occasion, the criminal of passion, and the hereditary criminal, and the precise statistical study of the most powerful causes of crime indicate to us with exactitude the personalities on which we can direct our cures and the most powerful means for succeeding."

"Certainly for the hereditary criminal there is only one sporadic form of treatment—what I have called symbiosis, or the canalization of crime, in which we strive to utilize its bad tendencies in honest directions. But efforts of this kind can be only individual, and even if they were not, the result would be altogether problematic."

"We can treat criminaloids in quite a different way, for they have not such deeply rooted tendencies to evil. We must begin in early youth by what I have called 'moral nursing,' taking young criminals from the influence of bad parents and bad localities and dispersing them in farms and colonies."

"Here legislation and the influences of environment have great importance * * * altho direct preventive and repressive measures do not always suffice. * * * One difficulty is that almost all physical and moral causes of crime are double-faced. Thus there are crimes favored by density of population, and others favored by sparseness, such as brigandage. So some crimes are provoked by poverty, others by extreme wealth. The same contradiction is observed when we pass from one country to another; thus, homicide in Italy diminishes with density and wealth, while in France it increases—a fact that is explained by the influence of alcoholism and foreign immigration. So religion, which with Protestants seems to prevent crime, increases it in Catholic countries, or at all events allows it to increase. Education, too, which prevents such crimes as murder, assault, etc., seems in many cases * * * to favor forgery, false witness, and political crime."

"The difficulty increases because, even if we have discovered opportune means of altering the environment, it is not always easy to apply them. For example, we might counteract the dangerous influence of high temperature on crime * * * if we could give the entire population cold baths, as was done in ancient Rome."

"The statesman who desires to prevent crime must thus not be one-sided. He should understand the dangerous tendencies of both poverty and riches, of ignorance and education, etc. To follow the straight path amid such contradiction the only safe guide is the study of the criminal and the causes of crime."

"We may thus understand the uncertainty and embarrassment to which statesmen are exposed by these contradictions; and we can see that those whose aim and ideal is to be always law-making find it the easiest thing to change a few pages of the penal code; and we may comprehend, too, how it is that imprisonment, the worst of all remedies (if we may not call it a poison rather than a remedy) is always applied as the simplest and most practical of the means of safety."

In conclusion Professor Lombroso reminds us that altho some of the reforms that he has urged on scientific grounds, such as truant schools, inebriate asylums, etc., have already been adopted on other grounds in some countries, these are but oases in a desert. They are unsystematic, altho steps in the right direction. He ends his preface thus:

"What we must now do is to compute and systematize them according to the data of biology and sociology, by giving them a solid scientific basis. I endeavor to do this in my book."

When he insists that only honest men should hold office, Gov. Roosevelt forgets how many offices there are.—Detroit News.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, warring conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force, and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, and the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made at the national, instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of a new initiative and referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of socialism through the increase of misery, but on the contrary it expects its coming through the determined united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the State directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not less than 60 acres. State to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers, at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

DEBS' LECTURE ENGAGEMENTS.

Oshkosh, Wis..... June 24
St. Paul, Minn..... June 25
Ashland, Wis..... June 26
West Superior, Wis..... June 27
Duluth, Minn..... June 28
Madison, S. D..... June 30
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